



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

member of one of the proudest castes in India, and is not uninfluenced by that fact.

We have alluded to the author's prejudice against Buddhism. Thus on p. 122, note 7, he says: "Gautama (Buddha) is very often barbarously complimented as a man who fought against caste, and his creed is called a revolt against the caste system. . . . Mr. Rhys Davids has shown the fallacy of complimenting Buddha for breaking caste in his various introductions to the Dialogues of Buddha." This is a gross misrepresentation both of Buddhism and of Rhys Davids (see his *Dial. Bud.*, p. 96 ff.). On Buddha's attitude on this subject Rhys Davids says: "In the first place, as regards his Order, over which alone he had complete control, he ignores completely and absolutely all advantages or disadvantages arising from birth, occupation and social status, and sweeps away all barriers and disabilities arising from arbitrary rules of mere ceremonial or social purity. . . . Secondly, as regards all such matters as we may now fairly call questions of caste outside the Order, the Buddha adopted the only course then open to any man of sense; that is to say, he strove to influence that public opinion, on which the observances depend, by a constant inculcation of reasonable views." These statements, which Rhys Davids elaborates at some length, represent the consensus of opinion of all competent scholars on Buddhism, and it requires only a slight reading in the Buddhist scriptures to show that they are true,—if the reader is at all fair-minded. But they are evidently very different from the views which Mr. Ketkar attributes to Rhys Davids.

Such a series of works as the author outlines would form a very desirable addition to our knowledge of Indian civilization; but Mr. Ketkar, in spite of his manifest cleverness and his Western education, is still too good a Brahmin at heart to accomplish the task in the right way.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

The Crisis of Liberalism: New Issues of Democracy. By J. A. HOBSON. (London: P. S. King & Son. 1909. Pp. 284.)

This volume is made up of articles which have appeared in various periodicals in recent years. Although the author states in his preface that they have been "composed with the definite object of relating the present constitutional struggle to the larger and more important issue of the future of liberalism" in England, none of the chapters have more

than a very general bearing on the budget struggle of 1909. Unfortunately the date and place of original publication of the various papers are not indicated. In any volume constructed in this way there is bound to be more or less of repetition of ideas and even of language, as well as some irrelevant matter.

The liberal party, Mr. Hobson argues, has now reached a crisis in its history, due to the fact that certain of its leaders, powerfully supported by the rank and file of the party, have committed themselves to a programme of reform measures designed to improve the material and moral condition of the people. Liberalism of the old *laissez faire* type is dead; it is the task of the new liberalism to substitute for liberty negatively conceived as the absence of restraint, the positive idea of liberty," which consists in the presence of opportunity. This fuller and more positive liberty which the author wishes the liberal party to champion is best expressed, he thinks, in the phrase "equality of opportunity." The equal opportunities now required in order to secure the real freedom of the people are found to be seven in number. At the head of the list stands equality of opportunity in the use of land, which may eventually necessitate state ownership of urban and even of much rural land, while it demands at once the taxation of the "unearned increment." Equal access to sources of power should be definitely made a part of public policy before the country falls into the hands of the threatened power monopoly. Equality of opportunity in respect to the means of transportation "requires that the railroad system shall be owned and operated by the nation." The financial monopoly threatens to become the greatest of all the trusts, consequently equal opportunity in industry and agriculture necessitates a scheme of state credit. It is Mr. Hobson's belief that "the whole of the money lending business from the pawnshop up to the largest discount operations will in time pass into state control." Equal justice, or equality of access to the courts, cannot be said to exist as long as the expense to private litigants is so heavy that "the owner of the long purse. . . . can beat down, choke off or wear out his poorer adversary." Real freedom for the small merchant, the clerk, and the workingman cannot be enjoyed without economic security; in the absence of a safe and economical system of insurance, such as the state only can furnish, "they and their families may be plunged into poverty and its attendant degradation" by any one of a number of contingencies which cannot be foreseen and against most of which even the best paid workers can make no adequate provision. Finally, equality of opportunity requires a broad policy of state education, and for the

"nationalization of knowledge and culture" Mr. Hobson make a strong plea.

One important aim of this programme of equalizing opportunity is to abolish poverty which together with the sweating evil, unemployment and old age destitution, is one of the "new issues of democracy." That Mr. Hobson's new liberalism would practically amount to socialism he denies, though he seems to admit that it looks too much like socialism to secure the adherence of the entire liberal party. But unless English liberalism grasps this last chance to express its traditional principles in these positive forms of liberty, "it is doomed to the same sort of impotence as has already befallen liberalism in most of the continental countries."

In order to carry out such a programme the democratic state must make solid and secure its theoretical foundations. Such an idea, at all events, seems to be the excuse for including a chapter entitled "The Re-statement of Democracy," in which the author endeavors to substitute an "organic" for an "individualistic" conception of society, in order to reconcile universal suffrage (including "votes for women") with "government by the best."

But before English democracy can make any headway with these "new issues" several political reforms must be accomplished. First of all, naturally, the lords must be deprived of their vote. This "surgical operation" on the house of lords, however, is only a prelude. The cabinet's encroachments on the liberty and authority of the elected representatives of the people must be checked; the franchise should be extended, parliaments made shorter, proportional representation introduced, plural voting abolished, members of parliament paid salaries from the public treasury and election expenses also made a public charge. Most important of all political reforms, after eliminating the hereditary chamber, is the adoption of the referendum. The encroachments of the lords on the rights of the commons, Mr. Hobson considers to be the more serious because it is defended on the essentially false doctrine that the veto of the upper house forces a referendum on important measures. The fallacies of this argument are exposed and it is argued with much force that the best solution of the problem is to be found in the adoption of a real referendum such as is found in Switzerland.

Few readers will be able to accept Mr. Hobson's views in their entirety; most will agree with him only in part, but scarcely anyone will deny that he states his views clearly and forcibly. The essays brought together in this volume are stimulating and constitute a real contribution to the literature of radical democracy.

CHARLES C. WILLIAMSON.